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ABSTRACT

Social mobility describes the frequency and extent that school structures and educational personnel offer students from low-income families the opportunity to improve their social position by fostering superior academic work, by encouraging them to have high educational ambitions, and by urging these students to complete schooling and to go on to college. Ways in which public schools limit and support social mobility for low-income students are described here. The report provides a historical account of education and social mobility, examines the meritocratic argument, and explores the claim that schools maintain social class systems. To probe these issues, 60 middle school students and 67 parents and guardians were interviewed over a 22-month period. In addition, classroom instruction and other school functions were observed at three middle schools in Midwest communities with high concentrations of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Analysis of the data resulted in three assertions, examined at length, on the capacity of public schools and school personnel to support and limit mobility: meritocratic assertions, humanistic assertions, and critical assertions. The study shows that educational practitioners rely on ideologies and school practices that limit social mobility for low-income students. The findings raise doubts about the compatibility of low- and middle-class ideologies. (Contains 42 references, 1 table and 2 figures.) (RJM)

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How Public Schools Support and Limit Social Mobility for Students from Low Income Backgrounds: A Chaos Interpretivist View

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Abstract

The results of this study indicate that educational practitioners rely on ideologies and school practices that limit social mobility for low income students. Ideology is defined as a system of representations that mediates people's understanding of the world. Social mobility describes the frequency and extent to which school personnel afford students from low income families the opportunity to improve their social position by enabling them to do superior academic work, by encouraging them to have high educational ambitions, and by urging low income students to complete schooling and to go on to college. These results raise questions on the extent to which public schools promote social mobility for students from low income backgrounds. These findings also raise doubts about the compatibility of lower and middle class ideologies.

How Public Schools Support and Limit Social Mobility for Students from Low Income Backgrounds: A Chaos Interpretivist View

This study examines how public schools limit and support social mobility for students from low income backgrounds. Social mobility describes the frequency and extent with which school structures and educational personnel afford students from low income families the opportunity to improve their social position by enabling them to do superior academic work, by encouraging them to have high educational ambitions, and by urging students from low income families to complete schooling and to go on to college. Ambition is defined as a desire for social mobility - a desire to leave one's social position to attain another by excelling in and completing school, and by positioning oneself to enter post secondary education (Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978).

Questions that are addressed in this inquiry include: What are teachers, administrators and relevant support staff's beliefs about educating students from low income families? What consideration if any is given to the student's socio economic class when school personnel make decisions related to curriculum, instruction and the allocation of instructional resources? and, What do the beliefs held by educational practitioners when combined with their decision making and instructional practices mean in relation to the promotion of social mobility for low income students?

Researchers like Anyon (1980), Rehberg and Rosenthal (1978) have studied the relationship between class and social mobility in U.S. schools. This study adds to their research by examining education and social mobility from an historical perspective, by analyzing meritocratic and critical assertions, and by introducing chaos interpretive approaches and research findings on how public schools limit and support upward

mobility for students from low income backgrounds.

Education and Social Mobility: An Historical Account

America's belief in the capacity of public education to promote social mobility for poor students is established. Officials in the New England and Southern colonies felt public schooling was necessary for preparing children for citizenship and work (Gutek, 1991). Horace Mann believed common schools should prepare students to earn a living, pay taxes and support their families. Mann also believed that education was necessary for economic gain, for improving living and working conditions for the needy, and for social change.

This belief in public schooling continued into and became most pronounced during the time of the Great Society. Lyndon Johnson and others viewed education as offering economically disadvantaged individuals the "only valid passport from poverty" (Jeffrey, 1978, p. xi). This confidence also spurred the federal government to become more involved in schooling America's youth, and in providing funds for educating and improving the quality of life of poor students and families (Spring, 1979).

Evidence of America's continued commitment to promoting social mobility through schooling is represented most clearly as federal support for Head Start and Title 1. Head Start and Title 1 receive the lion's share of federal appropriations for economically disadvantaged children and families. Analyses of Congressional appropriations to Head Start indicate that economic support reached record high appropriation totals of more than 3.5 billion dollars in 1995 for example, and that enrollment trends indicated a 60 percent increase in the numbers of students served in Head Start from 1985 to 1995 (Head Start Statistical fact Sheet, 1996).

Analyses of Title 1 spending and student enrollment trends give similar proof of America's belief that increased support for schooling offered the best cure for poverty. Estimates for federal appropriations for Title 1 were at more than one billion dollars in 1966 (Miller, 1967; Spring, 1976) as compared to budget authorizations of more than seven billion dollars for fiscal year 1995 (US Department of Education, 1996). In addition, total student participation in Chapter 1 in 1993 was reported at more than 6.4 million students representing an eight percent increase over 1992 participation levels (Sinclair and Gutmann, 1994).

Growing from this confidence in public schools came the belief that achievement gains were related to upward mobility. Individuals viewed schooling as useful for helping low income students perform like their middle class peers. Schools were seen as important for enabling these students to learn, go to college, find work, earn money and enter into the middle class. To this end, drafters of federal antipoverty legislation argued that schools should increase access and educational attainment by providing for greater levels of equality of educational opportunity (Jeffrey, 1978; Spring, 1979).

Equality of educational opportunity during the 1960s, was defined as "sameness" and was related to per pupil expenditures, school facilities, the numbers of books in the school library, curriculum quality issues and teacher pupil ratios (Kretovics and Nussel, 1994). During the 1970s, the meaning of equality of educational opportunity focused on the development of challenging curriculum and increased performance standards (Riley, 1995). Equal educational opportunity during the 1970s also focused on narrowing the achievement gap between white and nonwhite students (Kretovics and Nussel, 1994). Achievement most often described student performance on

standardized and teacher made tests.

Missing from discussions supporting increased spending, access, and academic achievement were analyses testing the relationship between schooling and social mobility. Questions on whether schooling actually helped students escape from poverty, in other words, were never debated and satisfactorily answered by political officials perhaps concerned with developing antipoverty education legislation that was also politically viable (Jeffrey, 1979). Voting for increased spending during the 1960s and 1970s may also have enabled politicians to deliver economic support to needy communities without appearing to surrender to the demands of influential special interest groups protesting for equality and civil rights reform.

Education and Student Mobility: A Theoretical Consideration

The Meritocratic Argument

Proponents of the meritocratic argument view the role of social class in schools as important but regard that role as limited (Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978). The meritocratic argument posits that workforce demands require highly skilled individuals, and that disqualifying people on the basis of their class, race, ethnic and other background characteristics is "wasteful of human talent" (p. 9).

Proponents of this argument also believe that schools play an important part in preparing students with specialized skills so that procedures for selecting and allocating educational resources in accord with the talents and interests of students are critical and in need of development. Once again, these procedures take the form of tests or other evaluations that are designed to help identify characteristics that are predictive of "educational and occupational success" (p. 9). Decisions on entrance into learning

tracks, college and into careers, made on meritocratic grounds it is argued, can also be based on the individual's intelligence, perseverance and skills. In this way, the meritocratic argument seems a fair and appropriate means for insuring a proper educational and occupational fit, and for sorting and providing differentiated treatment to students in schools.

This argument also provides that, given equal educational access, particular rewards for more successful students lead them to higher order education and career opportunities, and to heightened occupational status in the future. The meritocratic view argues that scholastic ability, application, achievement and possibly student desire are more critical than social class privilege for social mobility and future success. Once again, this rationale offers logic and is probably useful for convincing those who are less advantaged in a society that their having less is related to their personal intelligence, skill and drive in performance and not to class and other background characteristics. This rationale may also be helpful for controlling behavior and for convincing individuals that class differences are somehow fair and right. Finally, the focus on equal access, competition and differentiated rewards for achievement may also lead to approval, acceptance and to heightened status for individuals who excel in competition, and to a system of differentiated and unequal rewards being viewed as normative and legitimate for the most fortunate, fortunate and least fortunate members of various classes.

The Critical Argument

The critical argument views schools as important for maintaining social class systems and class stratifications (Kerbo, 1991). Like the meritocratic argument, the critical argument is associated with an industrial economic system and the need for

public schools to develop a better educated and more skilled workforce.

These views differ as the meritocratic system focuses on open ranks and achievement while the critical argument stresses inequality resulting from the existence of equality of opportunity and free competition (Kerbo, 1991). Proponents of the critical argument believe that students from lower class backgrounds begin schooling behind or from a disadvantaged starting point. The sameness provided by equality of opportunity is not adequate to compensate for these disadvantages so that public schools that do not account for disadvantaged students are effective for maintaining class differences and stratifications. The critical argument also suggests that inequality is generally accepted if not highly valued in class societies (Kerbo, 1991; Jencks, 1983).

Supporters of critical assertions also believe that it is within the capacity of the elites or "powered group" to preserve an existing social class order that supports and legitimates their own interests generally, and that ensures privileged individuals play a significant role in ensuring their interests in social stratification are being maintained in schools in particular. By controlling school finance, curriculum and instruction, student evaluation and requirements for student promotion for instance, more fortunate classes also control school operations and the access to social mobility that might come by participating in public schools. Inequalities in the amount and quality of schooling provided to students in poverty are argued to be a result of this control (Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978).

Others participants in critical discussions explain that resolving issues of equality and inequality in schools is complex. They explain that ignoring inequality in the case of subordinated groups creates a sense of faulty neutrality while focusing on it can

create a stigma of deviance (Minow, 1984). Minow (1984) suggests that what is required perhaps is a way of looking at difference that rejects the proposition that equality versus difference constitutes an opposition. This binary pairing of dichotomous concepts, according to Scott, (1988) does not accurately depict the opposing sides. The pairing of equality and difference or poverty may also have a legitimating or even negating effect whereby privileged groups steel their identity by negating the characteristics of the less advantaged group.

It is hypothesized in this study, in other words, that upper, middle and lower class individuals hold separate and distinct ideologies or systems of representations that mediate their understanding(s) of themselves, their world, their place and the position of others who enter into their world(s). These ideologies, including images, myths and ideas (Brantlinger, 1996) are passive, active, and probably irreconcilable. They are populated with texts that seem appropriate, and they have an heightened esteem that comes from their appearance as natural and rational beliefs that are also commonly accepted and thus superior to the beliefs of individuals from dissimilar ideologies. Thompson (1984) casts ideology as "meaning in the service of power" (p. 7); Apple (1992) as the "natural production of principles, ideas and categories that support unequal class relations" (p 127).

In this context it is theorized that different social class ideologies coexist, collide and compete for survival, and that public school personnel, on the basis of their membership in a particular ideological class, defer to upper and middle class concepts. It is also believed that this deference to upper and middle class ideologies ruins the ideologies of individuals from lower socio economic backgrounds while significantly

delegitimizing their efforts toward social mobility.

Methodology

To understand the relationship between public schooling and social mobility, qualitative methods were honored and developed. Data collection took place over 22 months. Interviews with 60 middle school students and 67 parents and guardians on Aid to Families with Dependant Children (AFDC) living at or below 1993 poverty thresholds (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995) were completed but the data collected from these individuals are not described in this study. Neither are the perceptions of five case workers, four pastors, two directors of local community based organizations and two police liaison officers providing support services to the students and families studied included in this research.

These data were collected for future analyses, to help the researcher understand the context of poverty, and to further define the educational experiences of 60 middle level students and their families with low income backgrounds. Education researchers agree social class is difficult to define. They suggest that the social class of a family refers to "the location of a family within the hierarchical ordering of a society in accord with difference, prestige and power that the family can claim as a result of the occupational and educational attainments of its adult members" (Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978, p. 43). Current researchers view this concept as inadequate suggesting it does not account for the ideological stance of poverty, or for a family's disposable assets, liquid finances, collateral and family wealth which Fenske, Geranies, Keller and Moore (1997) suggest are very significant indicators of poverty and a household's capacity to afford books and other supplemental learning materials that

support schooling and entrance into college. Thus, while visiting and collecting data from families participating in AFDC in their homes, data on the occupation of the father, mother and adult guardian, along with data on the education of the father, mother or guardian are described elsewhere, considering these data are useful adding depth of understanding and for comparing these indicators of social class against indicators collected during this investigation. Actual data on family income on the other hand, were not obtained for this study making it difficult to arrive at a general or even specific indicator of poverty or the particular social class backgrounds of families.

To that end, data collected for this study comes instead, from interviews with eight middle school administrators, 29 teachers, five guidance counselors, two school social workers and one attendance officer knowledgeable and involved in routine interaction with the students and families already mentioned. These 45 interviews were judged most important for collecting specific relevant data on schools, and for analyzing how public schools limit and support social mobility for students from low income backgrounds. These interviews also ranged from 25 minutes to nearly two hours in length.

Data collection was completed during the traditional school calender and while students were in classes. Approximately 140 hours of data were also collected during observations of students and teachers. These participant observations took place in students' English, science, mathematics and social studies classes, while 20 hours of observation time were compiled by attending physical education classes, lunch, after school and weekend school and sports activities. Analyses of school documents including class and homework assignments, grade and student behavioral reports and

district curriculum guidelines were also completed although teachers often did not strictly adhere to these curriculum guidelines.

Interviews

Interviews with participants were completed using three integrated phrases. First, unstructured interviews were used to amass a great breadth of information on the context of poverty, on the range and nature of support and education services available and provided to students and families with economically disadvantaged backgrounds, on the nature and requirements of social mobility in and out of school, and on steps taken to support mobility for individuals with economically disadvantaged backgrounds in the three middle schools included in this study.

Unstructured interviews were also used to gauge the levels at which interactants understood and claimed to understand each other, to establish balanced rapport, and to deflate the potential for respondents to draw assumptions from the researcher or according to the nature of the questions asked about "desirable responses" or about specific or imagined intents of the research. Unstructured interviews were also selected during the initial phases of data collection to elicit an emotional dimension to the responses of all 185 participants being interviewed (Fontana and Frey, 1994).

Group interviews were used during the second phase and throughout data collection to (a) pretest the wording of questions and interview protocols, (b) to provide assistance, support and recommendations on definitions, services and methodological techniques to be used by the researcher, © for data checks, (d) for triangulating data and getting a more holistic view of the various contexts, and (e) to collect additional information on poverty, support and education services, social mobility, and the

strategies used in schools to support the students mentioned earlier.

The third phase of data collection involved using structured interviews. All participants were interviewed and recorded as they responded to the same questions asked in the same order. These questions were included on questionnaires provided to participants in advance of their scheduled interview sessions, and developed based on the analyses of data collected during the first and second phases of interviews. Structured interviews were selected for this study to (a) minimize errors that may have emerged during alternative phases of data collection, (b) to understand the social interaction context and to assess how interviewees may have been influenced by that context, © to elicit rational responses to interview questions, and (d) to encourage truthfulness in responding assuming that questions included on the interview protocol were phrased correctly (Fontana and Frey, 1994).

Questions asked of respondents elicited personal views, understandings on participants' social and interpersonal relationships, and perceptions about service and education delivery systems and personnel working in those systems. Some participants were asked for their perceptions about communities and about their own experiences in certain communities. Others were asked similar questions and to describe what they believed, experienced, knew or heard about the communities and experiences of students and families with disadvantaged backgrounds.

Respondents were also asked to recall particular individuals, students, families and service delivery systems and schools, and to tell, in their opinion, about their characteristics and circumstances; to speculate, as best they could, about how individuals, groups and different institutions supported and/or limited social mobility for

students and families from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

The interview phases and interview protocols progressed from indirect to more direct questions. Students, family members, educators and other participants were assured their responses would not be associated with their names, with peers or with institutions with which they held affiliations. In addition, access emerged through volunteer work with some participants, through home visits, and through volunteer work performed at not for profit, spiritual and education institutions. The activity of becoming involved in volunteer work seemed helpful for gaining the trust of many participants, and for acquiring their confidence in collecting and reporting data unobtrusively and accurately, and in ways that would not bring them personal harm.

Students, family members, educators and other participants also seemed forthcoming and honest with their assertions; they seemed willing to describe their feelings, experiences and behaviors, and to provide rationales for what they recalled, believed and did.

A list of 47 themes was developed during the different interview phases, during participant observations and document analyses and by applying concepts and ideas that emerged while constructing and refining interview protocols. Interview transcripts and observation data were also collected and analyzed along with documentation and were later coded. Eleven categories emerged from analyses of the coded data. From these categories seven assertions describing self, the context of poverty, individual's social and interpersonal relations, and three assertions on the capacity of public schools and school personnel to support and limit mobility were developed. These three assertions serve as the focus and are described later in this study.

Participant Observation

Three public middle schools located in the Midwest were selected due to their high concentrations of students with economically disadvantaged backgrounds and due to the classification of the district as a whole as a Title 1 district. These schools were also chosen due to the need to capture the array of beliefs and services that related to the social mobility of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, and due to the presence of students, educators and other adults from lower, middle and upper class backgrounds in these three schools. These beliefs describe perceptions that practitioners held regarding the education of individuals with low income backgrounds. Education services describe resource allocation practices, and practices, procedures and policies related to the instructional programs provided to the 60 students observed in these three middle schools.

Participant observations of classroom instruction and daily, evening and weekend school functions were guided by narrowly defined analytic categories (Smith and Shepard, 1988) taken from the refined interview protocols. These categories were used as starting points to characterize teaching methods, student-teacher interactions, curriculum guidelines, methods and criterion for student evaluation and assessment. School and district retention and promotion policies and practices were also analyzed and organized using categories taken from the refined interview protocols and together, with all of the data collected during interviews, participant observation(s), and document analyses written using a poststructural feminist interpretive style (Lincoln and Guba, 1991) that borrows principles from chaos theory.

Understanding Chaos Interpretivist Views

Like poststructural feminist interpretive approaches, the proposed chaos interpretive approach is action and praxis based (Lather, 1993). There is no break between empirical activity and theorizing meaning that the participant observer immediately connects referents to theoretical terms. Through chaos interpretivism, the observer theorizes that where there is perceived chaos there is order. If chaos is perceived in a social or school setting, that chaotic situation and its environment are broken down countless times so that order and rationality become apparent to the social scientist and individuals in that environment.

In her discussion on the science of fractals, Wheatley (1992) theorizes that wherever there is perceived chaos or "order without predictability," (p. 123) there are movements that, though random and unpredictable, never exceed finite boundaries. It is assumed in this inquiry that chaos in schools and other social settings masks a constructed order so that ongoing analyses of human interactions that otherwise seem voluntary, involuntary, deliberately and randomly connected, also indicate numerous intellectual and behavioral approaches that coexist, collide, compete, rest, become ordered and hold implications for the ideologies and social mobility of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds for example.

A well managed classroom, broad curriculum and one to one interaction may appear cognitively and affectively legitimating, on the one hand, for instance, while becoming ideologically and psychologically invalidating for students with low income backgrounds on the other. In this sense, the academic success and social mobility of individuals from marginalized groups may become more a function of the resiliency of

those individuals combined with the efforts of others to experience, be sensitive and render support, than a function of schooling and school resources in the abstract to deliver effective schooling and social mobility.

With this, academic success and social mobility may also be measures of the capacity of individuals from economically challenged backgrounds to drive through turbulence and to arrive at a certain preferred order that is communicated by educators using specific texts. These texts, it is hypothesized, represent the particular meanings that educators and others from more privileged backgrounds find legitimate and desirable. To this end, it is also hypothesized that educational attainment and social mobility for low income students is dependant on their understanding the smallest elements so that the beliefs of one hold implications for the beliefs of the other.

To continue, as characteristics like class, gender, race, ideology and sexual orientation coexist, validate, invalidate and possibly act on each other in schools for example, understanding truth and discovering possible paths to social mobility and liberty in schools requires that these elements or characteristics, in themselves, are recognized as the whole itself. As intimated earlier, the existence and progress of these characteristics effects the formation of identity, social interactions, progress and the nature of all individuals and things independently and as a whole in a classroom environment as they intersect, become shaped and appear to be manifest. Hence, the proposed chaos interpretivist approach lists characteristics like class, gender, race, ideology and sexual orientation as particularly important to understanding human nature, and to understanding how ideologies converge and stimulate uncertainty and action in a bounded setting like schools. Chaos interpretivism, it is suggested, may also

be useful for understanding how ideologies inspire individuals to reason, behave and conspire to establish and reestablish order.

Methods of Document Collection

Many documents were provided and made available over the course of this study. These included materials and papers distributed during classroom and teaching activities, announcements and pamphlets calling for student and teacher interactions, as well as interactions involving guardians and community members, curriculum guidelines, documentation on school and district methods and criterion for student evaluation and assessment, and descriptions of school and district retention and promotion policies and procedures.

Other program documents were also collected for this study. These included documentation on school and district gifted and talented programs, special education programs, and other special needs programs for students including Title 1 programs, documents on teacher in service and training programs, and school and district documents on school stores, family centers, parent groups, food programs and adult education programs created for all students and especially for students and families from low income backgrounds.

Analyses of the Data

Choices of research questions and the literature to study, definitions, theoretical frameworks, instrumentation, procedures, and the methodologies used involved anticipating data reduction which Huberman and Miles (1991) describe as "an essential aspect of data analysis" (p. 430). Census data and concepts taken from research on poverty, schooling and social mobility, meritocratic and critical arguments, poststructural

feminist interpretive approaches, and chaos theory were taken apart, ordered and reassembled to understand the parts and interrelations among data, to assist in focusing and bounding the data, and to assist in "ruling out certain variables, relationships, and associated data [while] selecting others for attention" (p. 430).

In this study, data analysis started like data collection with loose inductively oriented approaches that, like an inverted pyramid, gradually became more and more narrow. The former inductive approach was selected due to the complex nature of the numerous issues addressed in this research, and due to the preference to explore and become familiar with participants, settings, different ideologies and various other aspects of this investigation during its initial stages. Increased familiarity, understanding and greater numbers of well-delineated concepts led to the latter deductive approach that was less exploratory and more confirmatory in nature, and that was also more narrow and appropriate for conclusion drawing and verification (Huberman and Miles, 1991).

Figure 1 introduces three inverted pyramids and three processes needed for a systematic coherent plan for managing and reporting data. Huberman and Miles (1991) define data management as data collection, storage and retrieval" (p. 428) perhaps attempting to make the process seem more positivistic, on the one hand, while paying inadequate attention to analysis, the meaning of actions (Erickson, 1986), and to other forces that shape how the data are reported on the other.

Nonetheless, Figure 1 borrows from Huberman and Miles (1991) combining data analysis with how data are managed. In this context, collection, storage, retrieval and analysis are seen as occurring concurrently. Figure 1 also adds the process of

reporting the data suggesting that the researcher's methods relative to collecting, retrieving and analyzing data are as much effected by their perceptions of their audience or the individuals who are likely to receive, read and act on the data, as they are by the researcher's own theoretical orientation and relationship to the data being reported.

In reporting data, the aim of the researcher is to make clear to the reader what is meant by various assertions, to demonstrate plausibility in a causal sense and not proof, and to persuade the reader that an "adequate evidentiary warrant exists for the assertions made (Erickson, 1986, p. 149). Depending on their purpose, the researcher may also attempt to stimulate and change behavior. Thus, gaining precision in the collection, storage, retrieval, analysis and reporting of data may also tax the investigator to complete these operations using methods that position readers to effectively interpret and check the reliability of reports of particular social patterns and meanings as inferred and compiled by the researcher in the completion of the study. In this sense, the importance of the reader must not be underestimated. Additionally, the reader or audience may be viewed as significantly as the whole of the study itself.

The process of translating information into data for reporting purposes in this research then, began with multiple readings of the entire array of information generated using the various perspectives and methodologies described earlier. Multiple copies of these information were made and analyzed independently by the principal investigator and two other trained analysts. These individuals searched for key linkages or analytic constructs to both test these constructs, and to isolate those which made the largest number of connections to items in the entire body of data.

Next, it is important to add that as separating data from data management and data reporting (Huberman and Miles, 1991) -- as may be implied in Figure 1-- is inaccurate, these operations were carried on throughout this research in an ongoing pulsating manner. Emerging themes, concepts and assertions were brought into sharper focus by not only accounting for additional negative cases, but by asking additional direct questions, by checking respondents' stories, and by following up on leads (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). Respondent's were also involved in reading, editing and verifying concepts that centered on school expectations and social mobility, and in developing and refining theoretical assertions about causal relationships. These respondents were also asked to rate the credibility of their's and other participants' accounts as well as the accuracy of themes, concepts, and the theoretical assertions reached given their participation in the study and the influence of the researcher.

Finally, analytic constructs that were repeated often and that were taken from each of the data sources were judged to be the most reliable for developing assertions. These assertions were, once again, later examined by the researcher, analysts and participants as organized together into focus groups to account for patterns found across frequent and rare events, to account for similarities and differences across confirming and disconfirming evidence (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992), and to add validity. Three empirical assertions that survived the different analysis procedures and that explained how public school personnel serve students from low income backgrounds are introduced during the presentation of data. To establish the validity and understand the logic of these three assertions, excerpts taken from the body of information collected are also provided in Table 1.

Presentation of the Data

The three empirical assertions that survived the different analysis procedures and that explained how public school personnel serve students from low income backgrounds are stated as follows:

Meritocratic Assertions

School personnel support competition and differentiated rewards for students based on strict guidelines, student performance, and given that practitioners perceive students are provided equal access to educational opportunity.

Humanistic Assertions

School personnel establish an humanistic -proprietary- missionary relationship with students perceiving they have a responsibility to behave like humanitarians or social welfare agents toward students, that practitioners hold significant proprietary rights over students, teaching, learning and the operation of schooling, and whereby personnel perceive they are expert on the knowledge, skills and attitudes requisite for students to attain social mobility.

Critical Assertions

School personnel stress inequality most often, perceiving that low income students do not have equal access to learning due to unreadiness, students entering school from a disadvantaged starting point, and due to school characteristics that limit access to mobility for low income students.

Meritocratic Assertions

As might be anticipated, preliminary analyses of the transcripts indicated the individual administrators, teachers and school support staff held multiple views on

educating the sixty students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds considered in this study. At first, analyses suggested that individual practitioners as well as different policies, procedures and school documents reflected meritocratic, critical and humanistic perspectives at the same time. Further analyses indicated that these data sources differed in the frequency and extent to which these perspectives were emphasized however (see Figure 2).

Analyses of the transcripts indicated, for instance, that as much as seven tenths (7/10) of one percent of the total data transcribed could be ordered along the humanistic and critical dimensions. These transcripts were blinded and two other analysts with similar understandings of meritocratic and critical assumptions in education read and classified the transcripts in the same way. This not only meant that the researcher and two analysts agreed on categorization schemes, but that this level of agreement was confirmed across interview, observation and document transcripts.

Analyses of the transcripts generated through interviews and participant observations of the eight administrators, 29 teachers, five counselors, two school social workers and one attendance officer in particular, indicated that three (3) teachers consistently supported competition and differentiated rewards for all students based on established performance criteria, and according to their belief that all students were provided fair and equal access to educational opportunity.

These three teachers organized records, lesson plans, instruction, desks and classroom materials, routinely gave recognition and praise, offered incentives like higher grades, pencils and school supplies, extra credit, candy, toys and other prizes, expressed personal commitment, extended their roles, and designed instructional

activities and education centers precisely and carefully to stimulate learning and to engage students in competition to finish homework, read more books, participate in class work, earn higher grades, to earn rewards according to their efficiency and rates of performance, and to behave desirably. When well behaved students were late and provided parental, legal and other excuses that educators found reasonable, these students were not penalized, penalized less frequently and penalized less severely in terms of having opportunities to learn compromised by these three teachers.

In contrast, when students were perceived as inconsistent and negligent in performance, incentives, rewards and learning opportunities were provided conditionally, provided less often, and occasionally denied to students. Students who were judged to be less dependable and less responsible, who were judged less efficient and productive, who scored lower and poorly on tests more often, were also involved in social interactions with these three teachers less often, and dealt with more routinely and more severely when these three teachers decided disciplinary actions were warranted.

Finally, while indications of teacher preferences for each of the sixty students varied, were debated, agreed and disagreed on by the researcher and two analysts, the researcher and analysts did develop similar categorizations schemes housing evidence of the attempts made by the three teachers to treat all of their students alike as well as evidence of the three teachers' preferences for different students.

Analyses indicated that students were routinely provided with exact materials and similar access to classroom learning early in instructional units and daily lessons by the three teachers for example, but that gradually, higher achieving students as well as

students perceived to be more motivated, disciplined, and agreeable participated in a more varied and broadly defined instructional program. Higher achieving students were exposed to higher order curriculum including advanced reading, science and mathematics programs more often. The three teachers judged as most often using meritocratic approaches, also experimented and took risks with higher achieving students more often, encouraging them to explore and choosing to involve these students in program decisions. Higher achieving more competitive students were also provided greater exposure to a range of different testing instruments including tests for achievement and advanced placement. These three teachers also allowed higher achieving students to experience multiple forms of assessment more often in their classrooms.

In contrast, analyses also indicated that of the 60 students with low income backgrounds considered in this study, 49 were experiencing grade level, below grade level, and lower order curriculum emphasizing basic reading, basic mathematics, general science, and instructional strategies stocked with repetition, rote and memorization activities. The affective and emotional development of students from low income backgrounds were also discussed and emphasized more frequently by these three teachers. Analyses also indicated that these three teachers deviated less often from their instructional planning, discouraged the exploration and creation of knowledge, and emphasized classroom management more often with students with low income backgrounds.

Schedules, interview and observation transcripts also indicated that none of the 60 students were active and participating in opportunities that offered accelerated

learning. Additionally, analyses of logs and behavioral reports indicated the 60 students considered in this study accounted for 45 percent of the total time that students were denied learning and dismissed from classroom instruction by these three teachers. Eight of the 60 students received failing grades, and seven multiple failing grades in mathematics, language arts, science or social studies. Four of the 60 students considered in this research were also recommended for retention by these teachers and all four were later not promoted to their next grade level.

Analyses also indicated that these three teachers were disappointed and frustrated with the quality of education, poor performance, and regular rates of failure of students from low income backgrounds. These teachers did not describe or become involved in efforts to provide social welfare support as others of their colleagues had. Neither were they involved in initiating, developing and participating in the health and social welfare programs and activities sponsored in their schools.

Last, analyses of the data indicated that these three teachers perceived they provided equal access to all students, at first, and that they believed differentiated programs of instruction emerged and were warranted only after students communicated a willingness to learn, and a capacity to successfully manage different curriculum and student evaluations. Analyses of data also indicated that practitioners did not individually, or with the support of others, assess the frequency and extent with which access to curriculum, evaluation and learning were provided equally or unequally to students. Instead, analyses of responses to queries and observation data indicated that perceptions on access and offering differentiated programs of instruction were intuitively and nonsystematically apprehended by these three teachers.

Humanistic Assertions

As defined earlier, humanistic assertions describe statements, beliefs, behaviors and efforts made by school personnel to establish relationships with students confirming that practitioners perceive they hold significant rights of ownership over students, teaching, learning and the operation of schooling, that school personnel perceive they have a responsibility to behave as humanitarians and even health and social welfare agents toward students, and that school personnel communicate they are expert on the methods of delivery and actual knowledge, skills and attitudes required for students to realize educational attainment and social mobility.

This assertion was unanticipated and also varied in the frequency and extent to which it was emphasized by different administrators, teachers and support staff. Like previous assertions, the humanistic scheme housed transcripts that the researcher and two other analysts classified in the same way. The terms *humanistic*, *proprietary* and *missionary* were extracted from transcript data and were later combined and applied by the researcher and analysts for classification purposes. Attributes of proprietary/missionary assertions are introduced and delineated below.

School Personnel and Their Rights of Ownership and Control

Each of the 45 school personnel included in this study were asked to describe their roles and responsibilities as educational practitioners. They were also asked to rank the materials they purchased and that the school and district provided that enabled them to satisfy their roles and responsibilities best. Inquiry regarding the status ascribed and the methods used by practitioners were made to aid in defining the variability in priorities made by practitioners for learning and for instructing students with

different backgrounds.

Next, practitioners were asked to describe how these materials were managed and what guidelines, if any, were given describing how students were to use and interact with these materials. Finally, responses to this set of questions were analyzed with observation and documentation transcripts to assess the methods, frequency and extent to which educators, school policies and procedures established ownership or proprietary rights over school resources, and to assess what these ownership or property rights, once established, communicated about the perceptions and expectations held by practitioners and schools for the students considered in this study.

These particular perceptions and expectations regarding school materials were later compared with perceptions and expectations directed at students from different class backgrounds to assess decision making, and if and how patterns regarding the availability of materials were like and unlike for different students. These similarities and differences in perceptions, expectations and decision making patterns were also analyzed to assess if and how they supported and limited access to resources, learning, student performance, educational attainment, and social mobility for students with low income backgrounds. Previous research has analyzed school policies, procedures and structures to understand their implications for students with different characteristics (see for example Scheurich, 1991; McNeil, 1986; Oakes, 1985). This study supplements those research efforts by analyzing, in part, ideologies, facilities and resource management patterns in classrooms and schools to assess what implications these beliefs, decisions, practices, policies and procedures hold for the achievement, educational attainment and social mobility of students with lower income backgrounds.

On the Procurement and Allocation of Instructional Resources

Analyses of interview and participant observation transcripts, and transcripts compiled during document analyses indicated that teachers were involved in between 70 and 80 percent of the decisions made regarding the purchase of new classroom and instructional resources and that administrators provided input on district and school budgets. Analyses of the processes surrounding the selection and use of classroom and instructional materials also indicated that teachers held great autonomy and discretionary rights in the areas of resource identification, selection, procurement and usage, that students and families from low income backgrounds were not involved in these decisions, and that decisions on school program resources, instructional materials and student assessment instruments were influenced by budget size, efficiency and cost, recommendations made by colleagues, middle and possibly upper middle class parents, and by practitioners' access to and information about available resources.

Analyses also indicated that 22, or approximately 49 percent of the educators included in this study, relied upon preestablished selection criterion (curriculum guidelines) when deciding on and ordering classroom and instructional materials. None of the 45 administrators, teachers and support staff involved, identified or made reference to student outcome data on district and state norm referenced tests, and none of these educators systematically identified or made reference to the particular interests, experiences and learning styles of students with low income backgrounds on resource identification and selection issues. In this regard, the educators in this research are judged to have held the majority of control over spending and selecting

classroom and instructional materials, control and selection over curriculum issues to be considered, and were judged to have established a proprietary relationship or right of ownership over the knowledge, skills and attitudes imbedded within the school and classroom materials purchased that were necessary for students in their classes to master.

Analyses of actual rates of availability and the use of textbooks, classroom and instructional materials, and supplemental learning materials by students showed patterns similar to those mentioned during the previous discussion. In short, this group of 22 educators stressed competition and differentiated opportunities for students to gain access to class resources, curriculum, learning, tests and school recognition. Analyses also suggested that these 22 educators believed that given the extent of economic support provided, all students had fair and equal access to resources and educational opportunity at the onset, that decisions regarding curricular and instructional issues were sound, based on knowledge and established practice and not in need of major revision, and that based upon interest, dependability, and hard work, higher achieving students *deserved to have greater access* to different and greater numbers of ideas and resources than their lower achieving peers.

Analyses also indicated that these 22 educators were dissatisfied and frustrated with the quality of education received, and the performance of students from low income backgrounds as often as the other 23 practitioners in this research were. The 22 educators from this group differed in the methods, frequency and degree with which they became involved in the personal and family problems experienced by students from low income backgrounds however, and in the methods, frequency and degree with

which they became involved in delivering health and social welfare opportunities to these students. The health and social welfare activities provided included food and clothing programs, parent training and consultation opportunities, an at-cost food and household goods store in one of the schools studied, and informal opportunities established by school practitioners to provide guidance on child and health care related issues.

These 22 practitioners were also routinely involved in collecting and providing food and clothing for students and families known to be in need of immediate support or on an emergency or as needed basis. They also provided information about employment opportunities and employment agencies to guardians and other adults in these families. Analyses of transcripts and data collected through interviews and observations of members of this group, when compared with other data, indicated that these administrators, teachers and staff, in particular, also made informal home visits and provided transportation to parents, guardians and other family members unlike their three meritocratic colleagues who indicated that they neither visited the homes and families of students, nor assisted them with transportation needs.

School Personnel as Health and Social Welfare Agents

When each of the 45 school personnel included in this study were asked to describe how their roles and responsibilities as educators guided their interactions with students, families, their colleagues and the general public on a personal level, it became apparent that these school personnel defined these areas differently. As mentioned, 22 of 45 individuals included health and social welfare concerns within their descriptions. In addition to the descriptions provided above, analyses also indicated

that these 22 school personnel did not attach health and social welfare programs and activities provided in school, that were also made available to the students considered in this research, directly to the educational programs of these students.

Health care activities and on site child care programs were not designed nor made available to particular needy families, students, and to students with children in an attempt to help address their individual learning needs, or to improve their rates and patterns of school attendance, for example. Instead, child care, health and social welfare programs and activities were provided to groups of individuals, formed and made available according to the knowledge and perceptions that these 22 educators held regarding the needs of the individual students and families included in these groups.

Analyses of the programs and activities that were made available within the schools also indicated they were randomly organized and provided unconditionally to needy students and their families upon request and whenever possible. Analyses also indicated that all 45 of the educators included in this research were knowledgeable of these programs and activities, that they all framed the health and social welfare challenges of their students as inseparable from their formal schooling, that they felt health and social welfare needs limited their ability to educate these students satisfactorily, that practitioners felt basic needs limited access to schooling for low income students, and that problems related to health and social welfare needs limited the potential of families to provide the support needed to enable low income students to learn on par with the more advantaged upper middle and middle class students enrolled in their schools.

Analyses of transcripts also suggested that each of the 45 practitioners in this study viewed schooling and academic success as precursors to social mobility. These analyses also indicated practitioners perceived a relationship existed between student behaviors, achievement, educational attainment, and social mobility, and that schools, and school personnel were fair, trustworthy and expert on providing the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors required for academic achievement and social mobility for students.

Analyses also revealed, after controlling and discounting Title 1 and other federally supported programs for economically disadvantaged students and families, that no budgeted programs targeting the specific health and social welfare needs of the students and families considered were identified in the transcripts or known to be available in the three schools studied in this research. Analyses of transcripts also indicated that the school personnel interviewed were neither knowledgeable of the existence of specific health and social welfare programs and activities being provided at their respective district levels, nor were they knowledgeable of school district attempts to survey students and family members regarding the context and the extent of their health and social welfare needs.

Last, analyses indicated that the school personnel involved in this study possessed varied levels of understandings about health and social welfare opportunities sponsored by other school districts, agencies and groups including profit and not for profit organizations, and that these individuals possessed varied levels of understanding regarding the frequency and extent to which the students and families considered during this research, were knowledgeable and participating in health and

social welfare programs for which they were eligible. These analyses also indicated that practioners adopting humanistic approaches did not systematically assess the appropriateness, quality, and effectiveness of goods and services in which they were involved in providing. Instead, analyses indicated that practitioners acted by word of mouth and according to perceptions they held about the health and social welfare needs of students and families from low income backgrounds.

Critical Assertions

One administrator and one school social worker were classified by the researcher and two analysts as holding critical assertions or orientations about the capacity of public schooling to support mobility for students from low income backgrounds. These individuals shared the meritocratic ideology possessed by the other 43 educators in varying degrees, and they supported their decision making processes and the strategies their colleagues adopted associated with competition, the allocation of resources and student achievement and promotion. These two participants were also found to be involved in addressing the health and social welfare concerns of students and families, and in developing programs and activities to serve individuals with low income backgrounds to an extent and with the frequency comparable to their peers. What distinguished critical educators from their meritocratic colleagues and other practitioners involved in providing in health and welfare services, was their focus on public schools and the roles that leadership, schools, local politics and society play in both supporting and limiting social mobility for students with low income backgrounds.

Analyses of transcripts indicated that these two individuals were routinely

involved in formally and informally communicating their concerns regarding the needs of disadvantaged persons to boards of education, local politicians and reporters from the local media for example. These individuals also described organizing and participating in demonstrations, serving on community advisory boards, writing and delivering announcements and rallying different individuals to demonstrate and bring attention to funding inequities in public education. The researcher and analysts classified these two educators as possessing critical orientations due to their activist approach, and due to their focus and public efforts to draw attention to inequities resulting from the existence of equality of opportunity and free competition in public education and society.

Analyses of transcripts also indicated that these two individuals visited with individuals and families with low income backgrounds, and that they informally and formally spoke with board members, their superiors, colleagues and others about educating and providing low income students and groups specific access to issues associated with school finance, curriculum and instruction, student evaluation and requirements for student promotion. While others of their colleagues were focused on equality and fairness in schooling, and with providing for the health and social welfare needs of students and families to varying degrees, analyses of the transcripts indicated that these two practitioners were also involved in identifying and developing initiatives and programs in and outside of their schools that involved specific low income individuals and families in assuming a larger, more visible and active social and political role.

Conclusions and Discussion

Four related conclusions can be drawn from the data collected and the analyses

of that data. First, it appears that considerable mystery surrounds the context of poverty and especially the lives of students and families from low income backgrounds, and that views of individuals from low income backgrounds in the operation of schools are conspicuous by their absence. Second, analyses suggest that adequate and systematic approaches for learning about the poor, their personal and educational needs, and a means for evaluating and interpreting these data, once they are collected, are not in place in the schools researched in this study. Third, analyses also suggest that the breadth of educational programs provided reward ambition and competitive dexterity, and that school personnel lack understandings on how to adequately assess, motivate, educate and evaluate students from low income backgrounds. Fourth, lacking clear and precise understandings on what is needed, school personnel adopt meritocratic, humanistic and critical approaches that are rooted in their professional and personal views, and that arbitrarily address what low income students need intellectually and developmentally, as well as what these students may need to experience improved access to social mobility.

It is hypothesized in this study in other words, that upper, middle and lower class individuals hold ideologies or systems of representations that mediate their understanding(s) of themselves, their world, their place and the position of others who enter into their world(s). Lacking adequately intensive strategies for learning about the intellectual and developmental needs of low income students, analyses also suggest that the schools and educators included in this study relied predominantly on their opinions, personal experiences and perceptions to make meaning and interpret the learning and developmental needs of their students. Thus, the progress of each of the

low income students considered in this study, may have correlated to the ideological gaps and gaps in understanding separating them from educators. Student progress and social mobility may also have correlated with the capacity of these students, educators and the schools, in general, to guess how to best narrow those gaps in understandings about each other.

Based on the findings in this research it is also hypothesized that different social class ideologies exist, and that public school personnel, on the basis of their understanding of these ideologies and perhaps their membership in a particular ideological class, defer to upper and middle class concepts. This deference to upper and middle class ideologies, in turn, possibly legitimates and adds to their luster while dulling and possibly neutralizing the ideologies of individuals from lower economic backgrounds. In addition, lacking a full awareness of the ideological stances of others may encourage educators to significantly delegitimize the efforts adopted by individuals from low income backgrounds toward academic achievement, educational attainment and social mobility. Lacking particular understandings of the backgrounds, experiences, needs and learning styles of low income students however, makes forming predictions on the existence of a lower class ideology and on the nature of relationships surrounding lower, middle and upper class ideologies problematic.

Finally, the findings on educational practice and student performance presented in this study do not suggest that the distribution of student ability coincides with class status. Instead, these findings suggest that differentiated programs of instruction exist for different students and that students from low income backgrounds experience an inferior educational program more often than their upper and middle class peers. This

means that the recognition of ambition and a competitive edge in the more economically privileged students led the educators included in this study to infer that these students were more capable and more deserving of higher quality schooling. Conversely, a perceived lack of motivation, and perhaps the unwillingness of students to compete, also led these practitioners to become discouraged and to conclude that their students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds were less capable and less deserving of schooling of a superior quality. This last finding is especially disturbing with deleterious implications for schools to deliver on the promise of social mobility for students from low income backgrounds.

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Table 1. Meritocratic, Critical and Humanistic Assertions, Paraphrases and Beliefs

Category of Beliefs	Assertions and Paraphrases		
	Meritocratic Assertions	Critical Assertions	Humanistic Assertions
Beliefs about Competition	"Sure others tease, but I find [students] respond when they compete for grades. The higher [the grade] the closer they sit to the front. The lower [the grade] the farther back they sit. Students like competing to see who's best. It's healthy and it makes good sense for their future."	"Plenty of times they [compare grades] and I let it go, but I play it [competition] down too. Some don't test as well, and the [low income students] carry too much baggage and shouldn't be expected to start even [and compete] with the more advantaged [students]." "It's frustrating. [Low income students] just don't manage. They lose out and you just don't see them get recognition as much and it's not fair to them."	"The poor ones, well you try to give them a quiet advantage without letting the others know. An advantage is like when you give them credit and take their answer even if it's not finished or exactly right so they don't feel all left out." "Stress competition yes, but we reward students for hard work and improvement too."

Beliefs about Systems of Rewards	"Recognizing the students for good grades and proper behavior is very very important and a part of my job. How are they supposed to learn good from bad if you don't praise them for excellence and for doing things right?"	"If you get into that [rewards] then the same students win. Sure I want them to do well, and I use praise, but I also think giving candy and prizes and certificates like some teachers do separates students into winners and losers and I have a real problem with that." "Some of us know what they are up against. For rewards to work, you must be sure they have a real chance to get it."	"The secret is to not let on that you know. You want the kids to have dignity and to learn they can succeed like anybody can... I get them when they know the right answer. Then I praise them or smile or nod my head and show them how proud I am that they could do it. And I make sure the other students see how well they did."

Beliefs about Access	"I don't believe that teachers should lower their expectations. Each child has the same opportunity to learn in this school. If you start worrying about all... how you can fix all of the problems, then it's just not possible to meet the needs of every individual child. I strongly believe that everyone should have the same opportunity to get an education and to make something of themselves, but I also believe some issues are better addressed in the home and not in the school environment."	"Of course they don't have the same chance and probably never will. Those kids need help just to get started. For them to have equality they need help. They need us to show them college so they can see about college and decide if they like to go. The school board and the politicians around here they need to get more into it too. Our school can't offer the same as other schools and our parents don't even know it. There's no equality for these kids without getting them real help."	"They have some chances like students with more, but if they don't get a special boost... some books, clothes and pencils, they won't know what they're missing, they won't have the same chance to learn overall really." "I remember thinking of John and his family. John has an odor that makes it hard for him to learn because the students and some teachers avoid interacting with him. One of his friends said he sleeps with no sheets, and that his parents have no washer or dryer."

Beliefs about Curriculum	"The guidelines are very specific. We just have time for math. I mean, what does having less money have to do with computing square roots? The problem with these students is they didn't learn the basics to solve problems when they get to this level. I'm sure they don't get the support at home but whose fault is that? I just get tired when the schools or the curriculum or the teacher always get the blame. These students all have the same chance in school. It's what happens outside of school that counts."	"The social studies curriculum can be bland. I get them [excited] by looking at motivation, why people wanted to have a say [vote]. The curriculum guide says we should compare how leaders are elected in the US with other countries, but why? My students learn that, but need to learn why voting is important. Why people died. They need practice to respect their right... privilege to vote. The poor [students] need this more probably. Their faith, they don't think voting helps but it does. I've seen it work."	"Getting the interests of the poorer students in the learning [curriculum] is really tough right? The really poorer ones don't really have anything at home they can talk about so you worry about what you're going to do. I don't let the students bring things for show and tell or whatever because not everybody has as much they can talk about. I use the newspaper in class because everybody gets a newspaper, and I always bring some extras in just in case. Newspapers are good to get the students involved."

Beliefs about Teaching and Learning	"Let's just say they have some opportunity for that [involvement], but that depends. If they demonstrate mastery early in a unit, well.. those students can go to the library or learning carols for extra facts and to pursue their interests. I know the universities say students learn more when they get involved and take ownership, but I feel that can lead to waste, the blind leading the blind. I have the training and feel I'm the best judge of what the students need to learn I guess. I guess I need to feel in control."	"I don't know how successful we are. Is it teaching, or the student? Some [students] have more advantages obviously and the more advantaged tend to do better. Is that good teaching? Are advantaged students smarter? No. Social class and how well their parents did [in school] makes all the difference. I sometimes feel like the schools haven't caught up instead of the students being behind. Its like the whole system lets certain ones pass and sucks others back and maybe we're okay with that."	"Everybody can learn. The problem is the parents can't give the students the experience they need and that hurts and they don't do as well. Many have never been outside of their little life. Taking a few to an art museum as a treat, I remember Linda leaving her house in a long black dress with earrings and shoes that were too big and her mom watching from the front door. Linda is really bright and she learns things quickly, but I don't know about her lifestyle. With no help I worry she won't make it."

Beliefs about School Operations and the Allocation of Resources	"I stay away from that. That's the principal's job. He decides how the school runs. I do order books and learning aids, but the teachers give me feedback. Last year we went to [a math] program. Central office likes it for increasing test scores which is very important to some parents and for helping the district. When [teachers] decide, they don't use a procedure or test scores for orders. It depends on the money, raising standards and what the individual teacher needs."	"Breakfast, lunch, the busses, the family support center, and maybe the PTO, that's how -and some teachers too- that's how this school, supports the needy families. I don't know what the district does. I go to board meetings and watch TV, and they talk about making education better for everyone but not for the poor. Maybe when the holidays come they say something about donations and what is being done, but that's bull shit to let them feel better not to serve the needy in particular."	"Mrs. Tapia [the principal] knows what the students need, and she cares about them. The school store sells them food and other things they need at a reduced cost, and the tokens get the students to mind. How that works is the teachers get tokens, if they want, to give to the students if they behave proper and do good so they can shop. The parents get a list of what the store has and two times a month the parents come in or tell their kids what to buy. Mrs. Tapia gives them space and gets donations."

Figure 1. The Exploratory/Confirmatory Approach to Data Management and Reporting

Data
Data
Management
Research Report
Reporting the Data

Figure 2. Total Data Set with Personnel Data Disaggregated

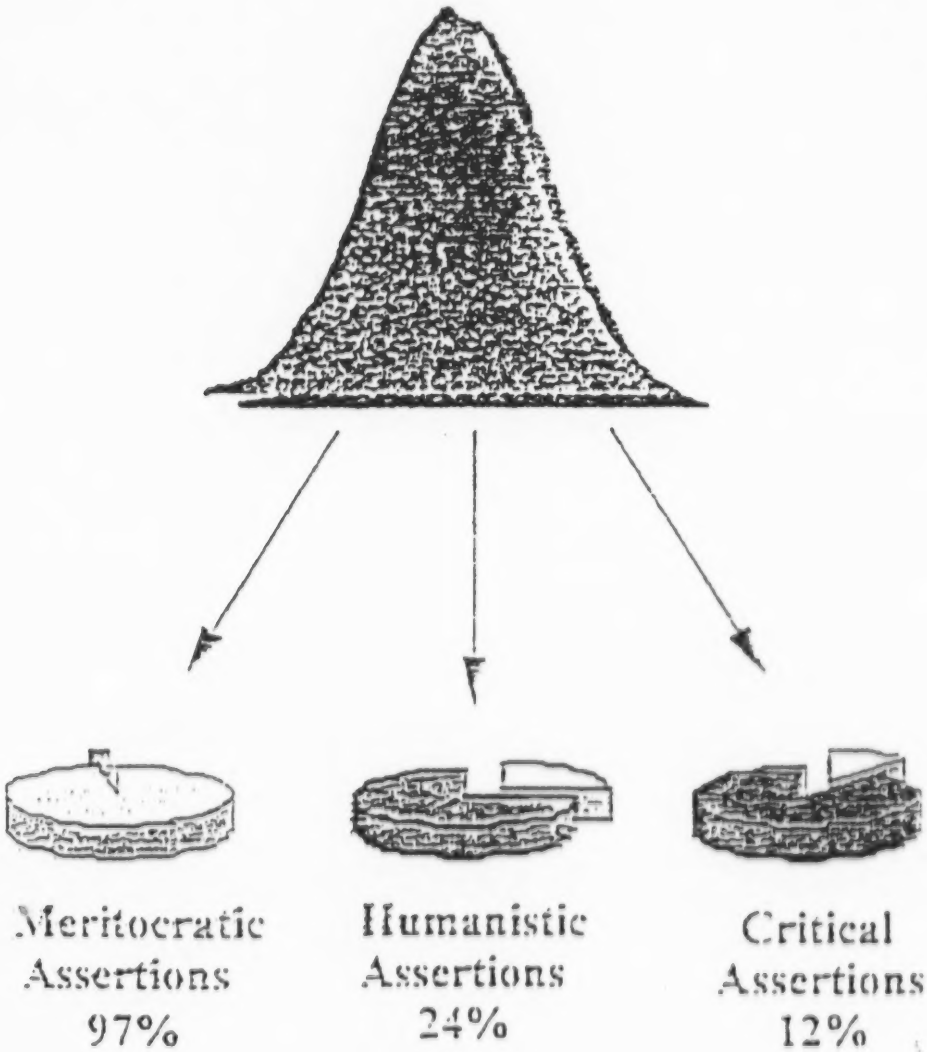

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Figure 2. Total Data Set with Personnel Data Extracted